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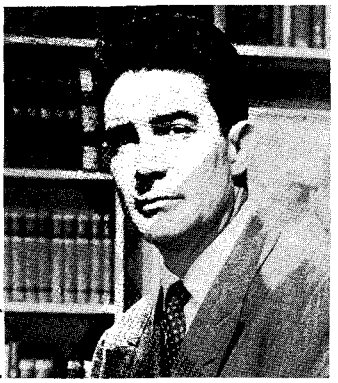

DAN SMOOT

THE AMERICAN TRAGEDY

The past is prologue; and,
unless we know the prologue,
we cannot understand the
drama unfolding before us.

In January, 1861, Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York City, proposed to the Common Council that Long Island, Staten Island, and Manhattan secede from the American Union and establish themselves as a free city to be named Tri-Insula. The Council approved;[1] but this attempt at northern secession was never completed. On April 12, 1861, southern guns opened fire on Fort Sumter, a federal military post in the harbor at Charleston, South Carolina, initiating open hostilities which came to be known as the American Civil War.

Northern secessionists joined with northern abolitionists to put down the effort at southern secession. At first, there were gay enthusiasm and reasonable unity in the North. In population, the North outnumbered the South more than three to one; and shiploads of European immigrants were pouring into the Port of New York almost daily. In natural resources and in industries to produce implements of war, the North was infinitely stronger than the South. The war against southern secessionists looked like nothing more than a colorful summer campaign. Volunteers from northern states quickly responded to President Lincoln's first call to arms.

But by the summer of 1863, there was a general feeling of despair in the North, particularly in New York City which, itself, had considered secession three months before Fort Sumter.

Northern armies, though better fed and better equipped and vastly superior in numbers, had not been doing well. General McClellan's great Army of the Potomac, departing from the First Battle of Bull Run in haste and disorder, had set what seemed to be a pattern. Even north of the Mason-Dixon Line, McClellan had not done well. Lincoln replaced McClellan with Burnside; but, the next month, General Burnside lost the battle of Fredericksburg. Burnside was re-

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placed by Fighting Joe Hooker, but General Fighting Joe promptly lost the battle of Chancellorsville.

Grant had won signal victories in the West; and Lee had spent himself at Gettysburg; but the lustre of these events was not bright enough to obscure a widespread feeling of rebellion and desire for secession that still prevailed in the North. Northern volunteers no longer responded in sufficient numbers to Lincoln's repeated call for more soldiers. The national Congress had enacted a Draft Law, exempting from military service in the Union Armies every man who could pay $300 for personal exemption. This laid an especially heavy burden on the poor men of the North — particularly on the thousands of newly arriving immigrants, many of whom were conscripted and sent south to fight almost as soon as they arrived from Europe.

In mid-July, 1863, the people of New York gave bloody expression to their resentment of what they regarded as a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight." In five days of rioting, the "poor people" of New York City revealed their attitude toward being forced to fight for freedom of the negro, while many who claimed zeal for that cause were buying their exemption from military service and staying at home to grow rich in a war-stimulated economy. Here is an account of the New York race riots, taken from Lloyd Paul Stryker's biography of Andrew Johnson:

"In fact, finally on that Monday morning [July 13, 1863], the poor people of the city took arms against their 'sea of troubles,' and used them somewhat effectively throughout five days and nights. When they had finished their work, the limp forms of nearly one thousand negroes were found hanging to the lamp posts or were left crumpled in beaten heaps upon the sidewalks. More than fifty buildings were burned and sacked. The police, as always, battled bravely, but they were too few, and it was not until *ten thousand troops marched into town* that order was restored . . . ."[2]

This terrible episode in American history has been rather well buried by historians. Even at the time, it was treated as minor news by the northern press, in comparison with the screaming denunciation by the press of "southern barbarism" when Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest attacked Fort Pillow and, in the process of reducing that Fort, killed 200 negro troops who had been inducted into the Union Army.

President Lincoln was disturbed by the bloody New York riots of mid-July, 1863, primarily because they revealed a misunderstanding of his purpose in the war. Time and again, Lincoln had explained that the North was not fighting for freedom of the negro, but was fighting solely to preserve the Union. Lincoln had said repeatedly that if he could maintain the Union by preserving the institution of slavery, he would do so; if he could maintain the Union by freeing some negroes while leaving some in slavery, he would do so; or if he could maintain the Union by freeing all slaves, he would do so. Lincoln explained his Emancipation Proclamation as a military necessity for the North, not as part of a crusade to free the slaves.

In a political speech at Charleston, Illinois, on September 18, 1858, Lincoln had expressed himself on the "negro question." He had repeated the same views at Quincy, Illinois, on October 13, 1858, during the Lincoln-Douglas debates — in these words:

"I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together on the footing of perfect equality . . . . but I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence — the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

After he became President, and throughout the war, Lincoln repeated this view on the racial question in the United States.

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Yet, northern abolitionists (apparently trying to forget that it was northern men who had bought black men in Africa, and sold them into slavery in the Western Hemisphere) fanned the flames of hatred for southern whites until no peaceful or sensible solution of the slave problem was possible before the war; and no reasonable solution of the racial problem was possible *after* the war.

At the close of the Civil War, according to Carl Sandburg, foremost biographer of Lincoln:

"Lincoln had his choice of going with those who, to win a complete and abstract justice for the Negro, would not hesitate about making the South a vast graveyard of slaughtered whites, with Negro State governments established and upheld by Northern white bayonets."(3)

Charles Sumner (Republican Senator from Massachusetts), Ben Wade (Republican Senator from Ohio) and Thaddeus Stevens (Republican Representative from Pennsylvania) were congressional leaders who had made hatred of the southern whites a burning political passion and who were determined to establish it as a guiding light of national policy.

Lincoln rejected their counsel of hate and, according to Carl Sandburg, so did the two foremost northern Generals, Grant and Sherman:

"The supreme devastators, Grant and Sherman, were not politically joined to those, like Sumner, demanding a justice which would consist of Southern Negro state governments made and upheld by Northern white bayonets. The caldron of war hate still boiled . . . . The passions of Sumner and Wade had become a habit. They rose to passion chiefly on the race question. As born haters, they had difficulty adjusting themselves to the ways of Lincoln . . . . [whose counsel about placing blame for slavery and the Civil War consisted of] the repeated and mournful 'Judge not, that ye be not judged.'"(3)

The Confederacy died and the Civil War ended when Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox on April 9, 1865. Lincoln was assassinated 5 days later. Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's successor, tried faithfully to carry out Lincoln's policies of reconciliation and reconstruction without malice; but, lacking the prestige which Presidency during war had given Lincoln, and being a southerner, Johnson himself became a primary target of the abolitionist haters; and hatred of southern whites did, indeed, become a guiding light of national policy for more than ten years.

Here are passages from Lloyd Paul Stryker's biography of President Johnson:

"In Memphis, during April [1866], the third United States colored artillery were quartered. Their mere presence was provocative enough, but when presently their lack of discipline revealed itself in acts of open insolence, the collisions against which Grant had warned were sure to follow. The police of Memphis . . . were Irish. The jostling of Irish policemen never has been deemed an act of prudence, yet on the afternoon of April 30th this extra hazardous pastime was engaged in by the black artillerymen. Trouble disproportionate to this origin was not slow in following. It followed on the next day when the municipal officers of the law, with the ready aid of white civilians, made an attack upon the entire negro population of the city. This retaliation resulted in a riot that lasted for two days. When it was over, forty-six negroes had been killed and more were injured . . . . The echoes of this trouble were not slow in reaching Washington, from which sounding-board they reverberated through the land. A golden opportunity was here offered for the enemies of the South to proclaim her 'unregeneracy' . . . .

"The material for defamation furnished by the Memphis riot, however, was as nothing compared to what transpired at New Orleans on July 30th [1866] . . . . [when] a procession of negroes, partly armed, marched through the streets of New Orleans. There was some hooting and jeering from the sidewalks, when suddenly a shot rang out; it had been fired by one of the colored paraders. Other shots soon followed, and the crowd then chased the marchers . . . . The police appeared presently on the scene. All the materials for a riot were now present, and a very shocking one ensued . . . . Before it was over nearly two hundred persons had been

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killed or injured, most of whom were negroes. Soldiers did not reach the scene until the trouble was all over.

"Without a shred of proof to substantiate the charge, the Radicals proclaimed that the riot was the result of the President's delinquency, and heralded this accusation in every form of utterance. His [Johnson's] exculpation was in the power of Stanton [Secretary of War], but Stanton held his peace, except to exclaim against the Attorney-General of Louisiana and the Mayor of New Orleans as 'pardoned rebels who had instigated the murder of the people in the streets of the city.' The Congressional Committee appointed by Congress would hear nothing from the President, and presently filed their report charging him as an accomplice in the crime . . . .

"No one seems to have mentioned that the combined deaths in Memphis and in New Orleans numbered less than half the negroes who were murdered in the draft riots of New York three years before! Such facts would not well have harmonized with the Radical contention that it was only in the South that the race problem gave rise to turbulence!"[2]

But the truth was recorded quietly, in the diary of Gideon Welles, who had served throughout Lincoln's term of office as Secretary of the Navy and was still serving in that capacity under Johnson, when the race riots occurred in New Orleans on July 30, 1866. Gideon Welles said:

"There is little doubt that the New Orleans riots had their origin with the Radical Members of Congress in Washington. It is part of a deliberate conspiracy and was to be the commencement of a series of bloody affrays through the States lately in rebellion . . . . There is a determination to involve the country in civil war, if necessary, to secure negro suffrage in the States and Radical ascendancy in the General Government."[4]

The National Sin

As early as 1787, responsible men — the men who wrote our Constitution — knew that slavery was evil and doomed to die; but it had become so woven into the fabric of American life that time was needed to remove it. It could have been removed without the sea of blood that was poured out during and following the Civil War. Leaders in the North (among them, Abraham Lincoln) and in the South (among them, owners of slaves) were groping toward a means of sending negroes back to Africa and of aiding them there to develop their own independent nation and to lead their own way of life. But the insensate hatred of northern abolitionists for southern whites provoked a defensive, equally senseless reaction on the part of some southern leaders who tried to defend slavery as a noble institution.

The North did not go to war to free the slaves, and the South did not fight to preserve slavery. The official purpose of the northern government was to preserve the American Union. The official purpose of the southern government was to establish the right of the South to be left alone, to lead its own life in its own way. But it was hatred, fanned to white-heat, both North and South, that made possible the awful inferno of the Civil War.

Northern slave-traders brought negroes to the United States against their will, the only race of people ever forced to come here. Southern plantation owners bought the negroes and used them as slaves. Southerners were not above engaging in the slave trade, and northerners were not above owning and working slaves.[5] The economics of the time assigned the North and South their respective roles.

Slavery was, in short, a *national* sin. But instead of growing maudlin about our great national sin, we ought to look at it in proper perspective.

Negroes, whom New England and British slave traders brought to the new world, were not a civilized people captured and sold into bondage.

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They were barbarians, most of whom had been slaves in Africa, sold to white slave traders by other negroes. Their bondage to the white man in America was, physically speaking, an actual improvement upon the life they had endured in Africa.

The slaves set free by the American Civil War were of a race which had never developed a civilization of its own. These negroes had no racial pride or racial traditions of self-government. Their forebears had never known anything but slavery, either in the Western Hemisphere or in their African homeland.

These were the people, illiterate and propertyless, who, in one violent step, were declared equal heirs of a civilization which it had taken the white man thousands of years to develop. The southern whites (upon whom fell the main task of helping the negroes assimilate an ancient and alien culture) were themselves pauperized, demoralized, and embittered by war — a people whose own way of life had been shattered by military action. And during the first ten years when the southern whites were trying to carry this burden, they were living under the heel of a national government in the hands of men whose ruling passions were greed and hate. Guns and bayonets of northern occupation armies forced southern whites to accept state governments run by illiterate negroes and white carpetbaggers — governments which, under the cover of "law," despoiled southerners of their homes and other property.

Yet, somehow, the monumental burden was shouldered.

Negro Progress

Any American who has a sense of shame or apologetic feeling about the history of the black man in the United States — even including the period of slavery — should look at the history of the black man elsewhere. Look, for example, at the history of Haiti.

Haiti was a French colonial possession from 1697 to 1804. It was the most prosperous European colony in the Western Hemisphere. In 1789 (the year when George Washington became the first President of the United States), free mulattoes of Haiti (who were property owners, many of them wealthy) were given political rights. The whites objected to this, and fierce racial struggles ensued.

On January 1, 1804, Haiti became an independent nation, under the rule of Jean Jacques Dessalines, a negro, who crowned himself Emperor. He began his reign by massacring all whites in Haiti,[6] thus making it an all-negro nation. In 1844, the eastern half of the island revolted and declared its independence (now known as the Dominican Republic).

Haiti has been an all-negro nation since 1804. The civilization which the negroes took over from the whites in 1804 was as advanced as any in the Western Hemisphere. Yet, since the negroes gained national independence, Haiti has been a land of brutal violence, bloody anarchy, tyranny, and poverty — except for one 19-year period when it was under the supervision of U.S. occupation forces. Following a period of wild anarchy, in which foreign embassies were looted and their personnel murdered, the United States, on July 28, 1915, sent a detachment of Marines into Haiti to restore order. U. S. forces remained until 1934. During those years of white supervision, the negro Republic of Haiti enjoyed the only prosperity and the only period of law and order, since the whites were exterminated in 1804.

Shortly after Franklin D. Roosevelt ended the

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U. S. occupation of Haiti, bloody turmoil and grinding poverty returned to that hapless land. Today, the all-negro Republic of Haiti is the most illiterate and depressed area in the Western Hemisphere.[6, 7]

Consider the history of the black man in Australia. The first British settlement in Australia was established in 1788. In that land, the black man is a native, never having been brought there as a slave, or otherwise oppressed by whites. Australians forbade the migration of foreign negroes to their country, but adopted a beneficent policy toward native blacks — giving them freedom to share the white man's civilization, or to remain apart, and lead their own way of life.

Practically all of them have chosen to remain apart; and they are still a stone-age people, having made few advances in the 175 years since white civilization first came to their homeland.[8]

On the other hand, look at the history of the American negro in the United States. Between 1865 and 1928, the American negro made more progress than the black man had ever made anywhere else in the entire history of the human race.

During that period, American negroes made a miraculous advance toward full integration into the white man's ancient culture — not integration in the contemporary sense of losing their racial identity by full amalgamation with the white race, but integration in the sense that they began to develop a pride in their own race and, with the white man's help, began to build their own cultural and educational institutions, establish their own businesses, build their own homes, own their own land.

With marvelous speed, the American negroes — thanks to the understanding and sympathetic aid of southern whites — were becoming a proud and *distinctive* part of the total American population.

Racial Agitation

As early as 1913, Lenin had urged communists to use the "negro problem" as a means of creating disorder and strife in the United States. But the communist program of racial agitation was not formally launched until 1928. Hence, 1928 is a significant turning point in the history of race relations in the United States.

When the communists launched their program of racial agitation, they were spurred by a sense of urgency, because they knew that the "negro problem" was vanishing in the United States. For proof of this, examine the words of John Pepper, the man chosen by Moscow to initiate the program. John Pepper wrote a 16-page pamphlet intended as a handbook for communist racial agitation activity. Entitled *American Negro Problems,* it was published (1928) by the Workers Library Publishers, 35 East 125th Street, New York (official publishing company of the communist party). Note these passages:

"The Negroes of the United States are the most advanced section of the Negro population of the world and can play a decisive role in helping and leading the liberation movement of the Negro colonies . . . .

"The industrialization of the agrarian south of the United States, the concentration of a new Negro working-class population in the big cities of the east and north, and the entrance of the Negroes into the basic industries on a mass scale, have been changing, in the last few years, the

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whole social composition of the Negro race in America . . . .

"A sharp class differentiation has taken place in the Negro population in recent years. Formerly the Negro was in the main the cotton farmer in the south and the domestic help in the north . . . . [But now] in the big cities and industrial centres of the north there is concentrated to a growing degree a Negro working-class population . . . . At the same time there is a rapid development of a Negro petit-bourgeoisie, a Negro intelligentsia, and even a Negro bourgeoisie. The very fact of segregation of the Negro masses creates the basis for the development of a stratum of small merchants, lawyers, physicians, preachers, brokers, who try to attract the Negro workers and farmers as consumers . . . .

"It would be a major mistake to overlook the existence of class differences among the Negroes, especially the crystallization of a Negro bourgeoisie. There were in 1924, 73 Negro banks, carrying an annual volume of business of over 100,000,000 dollars. There are 25 Negro insurance companies; 14 of these have assets totalling 6,000,000 dollars and during 1926 alone paid over 3,000,000 dollars in claims. This Negro bourgeoisie is closely tied up with the white bourgeoisie; is often the agent of the white capitalists. Economically the Negro banks are often part of the Federal Reserve System of banking.

"Politically the Negro bourgeoisie is participating, to a growing degree, in the so-called 'commissions for inter-racial cooperation.' These committees exist in eight hundred counties of the south and are spreading all through the black belt."

Note that the communists were particularly disturbed because the "negro bourgeoisie" was participating with southern whites in voluntary commissions for inter-racial cooperation.

Negro progress in the United States was so fast and so solid — and harmonious relations between black and white races were being so effec-

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WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Born in Missouri, reared in Texas, Dan Smoot went to SMU in Dallas, getting BA and MA degrees in 1938 and 1940. In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for a doctorate in American Civilization.

In 1942, he left Harvard and joined the FBI. As an FBI Agent, he worked for three and a half years on communist investigations in the industrial Midwest; two years as an administrative assistant to J. Edgar Hoover on FBI headquarters staff in Washington; and almost four years on general FBI cases in various parts of the nation.

In 1951, Smoot resigned from the FBI and helped start Facts Forum. On Facts Forum radio and television programs, Smoot spoke to a national audience, giving *both sides* of controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his present independent publishing and broadcasting business — a free-enterprise operation financed entirely by profits from sales: sales of *The Dan Smoot Report,* a weekly magazine; and sales of a weekly news-analysis broadcast, to business firms, for use on radio and television as an advertising vehicle. The *Report* and the broadcast gives only *one* side in presenting documented truth about important issues — the side that uses the American Constitution as a yardstick. The *Report* is available by subscription; and the broadcasts are available for commercial sponsorship, anywhere in the United States.

If you think Dan Smoot is providing effective tools for Americans fighting socialism and communism, you can help immensely — by helping him get more customers for his *Report* and broadcasts.

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tively developed — that communists alone could not have done serious harm.

The race problem did not become a major American tragedy until the Democrat Party, under the leadership of Roosevelt and Truman, for political reasons, adopted a program of racial agitation. The problem did not become a major national disaster — transforming peaceful communities into caldrons of violence — until modern Republicans, under the leadership of Eisenhower and Nixon, launched an all-out political struggle to win organized negro support away from the Democrats.

The Kennedy administration, in its search for political support, has cynically prodded and manipulated the delicate racial problem — until, today, it is entirely conceivable that places like New York City could be on the verge of a horrible experience comparable to that of mid-July, 1863.

NEXT WEEK: More on this problem.

FOOTNOTES

(1) *Abraham Lincoln,* by John T. Morse, Jr., American Statesmen Series, 1893; and *The Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 11th Edition, 1910, Volume 19, p. 623

(2) *Andrew Johnson, A Study in Courage,* by Lloyd Paul Stryker, The Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. 126-7; pp. 316-19

(3) *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years,* by Carl Sandburg, Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1936, Volume IV, p. 217; p. 218

(4) *Diary of Gideon Welles,* edited by Howard K. Beale, W. W. Norton & Company, 1960, Volume II, pp. 569-70

(5) The Census of 1860 listed 114,995 slaves in northern states: *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957,* Bureau of the Census, 1960, pp. 11-12

(6) *The Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 14th Edition, 1932, Volume 11, pp. 82-3

(7) *The Encyclopedia Americana,* 1961 Edition, Volume XIII, pp. 628d-628h; *Information Please Almanac for 1963,* Simon and Schuster, 1962, pp. 701-2

(8) *The Encyclopedia Americana,* 1961 Edition, Volume II, pp. 567-69

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Washington officialdom uses your taxes for programs that are creating vast cesspools of waste and corruption — and dragging our Republic into the quicksands of socialism. But what can you do about it?

You can help educate and arouse the people who elect men responsible for harmful programs of government. When enough other Americans know and care as you do, political action to restore our Republic will come.

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